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TEMPO WAS IN TIMOR

PORTUGAL'S SHAMEFUL BEHAVIOUR

Nuno Rocha - Special Envoy

Following is an unofficial translation of an article entitled "Tempo was in Timor" - Portugal's Shameful Behaviour" published in O Tempo of Lisbon on 6 August 1987, written by Mr. Nuno Rocha, Editor and Chief of O Tempo, who visited East Timor from 31 July to 3 August 1987 :

The director of TEMPO was invited this week by the Foreign Minister of Indonesia to visit East Timor. During his visit he wrote the piece that is being published today. The director was allowed without restrictions to research documents and hear statements for a series of newspaper reports which will be published in the weeks ahead. He will report on the situation on the island before, during and after being abandoned by Portugal.

But Nuno Rocha will not only speak about Timor. On his present trip to South East Asia, he was able to collect elements and observe local situations which allowed him to talk about other hot spots in that region, for example Cambodia, Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand, Hong Kong and Macao.

The history can not be erased and, after twelve years, the present situation allowed us to state what has not been reviewed about Timor.

The Portuguese people did not know the whole truth and our country for two decades behaved shamefully before the international community and especially before the Indonesian people, our secular and unfailing friend.

Invited by a humanitarian Japanese association to participate in a conference for Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees in Bangkok, I met the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mochtar Kusuma-atmadja, who was returning from Hanoi, today Ho-Chi Minh City. The Foreign Minister was in Hanoi for a meeting with the Prime Minister and

Government officials from Vietnam. He was entrusted by ASEAN (association of six Asian countries), to put a stop to the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam which has lasted for the past nine years.

The Minister received me even though Lisbon has had no diplomatic relations with Jakarta since December 7, 1975, when the Indonesian military forces entered Timor, in response to a request of four local political parties during a time when more than one hundred thousand Timorians had perished in the war of extermination.

After several conferences with Portugal in London, Macao and Rome, and as obligations were not fulfilled by the Portuguese Government, the Indonesian Government reached the limit of its policy of non-intervention.

The break of relations with Indonesia on December 7, 1975 was unacceptable and it was due to an irresponsible attitude of General Costa Gomes, then President, and Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo, now dead, then Prime Minister, and Colonel Melo Antunes, then Foreign Minister, today working in UNESCO.

The Foreign Minister of Indonesia Mr. Mochtar, who succeeded the famous Minister Adam Malik, with whom he worked on the Timor case, half-an-hour after meeting me at the Hilton Hotel, he recommended that I change my plans and invited me to go on his private plane to Jakarta and to visit Timor which up to now was closed to foreign journalists.

Due to stories about the situation on the Portuguese colony, Mr. Mochtar said that he did not want to create any problems for the majority government of Cavaco Silva, but he wanted the Portuguese people to know, once and for all, that Indonesia never had any territorial ambitions over Timor, not even during the war of independence from the Dutch or even after the Portuguese revolution of April 25, 1974.

Indonesia, he said always treated the situation in Timor with great care to see that the decolonization promised by Portugal take place in a friendly athmosphere

between the two peoples and the two governments, with absolute respect for the wishes of the people of Portuguese Timor.

INVESTIGATION WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS

After obtaining a visa from the Indonesian Embassy in Bangkok, I travelled with the Minister from Thailand to Jakarta, the capital of the fifth largest country in the world, with a population of 120 million, after China, India, the Soviet Union and the USA.

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world with 13.667 islands and islets, 6 thousand of which are inhabited.

Indonesia doesn't need to import food to survive, is an oil producing country and therefore is becoming one of the major powers in South East Asia.

During the trip to Jakarta I was reassured by the Indonesian officials that I was going to be able to stay in Timor as long as I wanted and I would be given facility to go anywhere I wanted. I was also informed that I would be able to read official documents.

Today I can truly say that I have all of the information to report about our tragedy in Timor and to describe the heroes, martyrs and traitors, among whom there were treacherous ministers and military men without dignity, who ashamed one generation and ended Portuguese history in that region which notably dates back to the 15th century when our sailors were the first to discover the Moluccas Islands, to take control of Malacca and to disembark in Timor, as well as other fabulous islands of the Flores archipelago. In Jakarta as well as in Timor I spent several hours researching various documents including private ones. I visited libraries and archives, interviewed university professors, journalists and politicians who witnessed the tragedy. The Foreign Minister granted me two interviews, with the latter lasting more than two hours.

Upon my arrival in Timor I visited Dili and several adjoining regions, where I had a four hour interview with the Governor of that Indonesian province - the ancient Portuguese Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, an agriculture engineer who is a little over 40 years old and educated in Lisbon during the 1950's.

East Timor has a population of five hundred thousand, seventy thousand of whom live in Dili.

To travel from Jakarta to Timor takes 7 hours and there are daily flights from Jakarta to Timor with a stop-over in Bali. On my return trip to Jakarta I stopped in Bali where I met several students from Timor, two of whom spoke lucidly of the events, even though they were only ten years old when their land was awash with the blood of their parents, grandparents, and brothers. The bloodshed happened as a consequence of the irresponsible escape of the Governor Lemos Pires, his officers and soldiers.

SHAMEFUL ESCAPE

It was August 26, 1975 at midnight when Lemos Pires precipitously departed Dili. He was at the docks with his troops when they shot two mortar rounds, killing two men. The Portuguese Governor totally lost control due to previous errors committed by him and by his officers such as Majors Abreu and Jonatas, who, in the meantime were expelled by other officials and who arrived from Lisbon to do so. Lemos Pires left in a small boat to the neighbouring island of Atauro. He left behind Dili under iron and fire. But the biggest mistake made by Lemos Pires, wasn't his escape, but rather giving the Portuguese arms to one of the civilian groups. The gravest error was that Lemos Pires gave command of the city and the arms of the Portuguese Government to a militiaman who was the brother of Nicollau Lobato, the head of Fretilin at the time, who later died gloriously during the civil war in what he called his country. The irresponsible behaviour of Lemos Pires prompted the subsequent massacre on the island.

After having expelled the Portuguese, the Fretilin inexplicably ended up with the 27,000 arms abandoned by Lemos Pires and used them against the other political parties - the UDT, TRAMBALISHTA, KOTA and Apodeti, with the latter of favouring Timor's integration with Indonesia. A series of revenge killings began on the island, which brought about the death of 100,000. This dark and tragic period in the history of Timor lasted for almost 6 months. The forces that fought against FRETILIN started marching towards the western side of the island that always belonged to Indonesia.

Almeida Santos wandered between Jakarta and Ataúro not knowing what to do because the civil war in Timor was getting ever more violent. It is common knowledge that during those dramatic days, a group of revolutionary military men from Lisbon and their political friends tried to gain time in order to assure the installation of FRETILIN.

Almeida Santos sent a letter to the United Nations the contents of which surprised Indonesian officials, because it was contrary to everything he had stated before. The Indonesia Government did not know how or who to approach and trust in Lisbon.

Without money from the outside, without food, without a State or Government, FRETILIN started to disintegrate. The international community did not recognize their political existence, only Portugal gave it credence. East Timor, lost between the mountains and the sea, with per capita income of $40.00 and ranked among territories of the fourth world, without food production or enough arms, could not be independent. Hunger struck the Timorians and more than forty thousand up-rooted refugees fled across the border to West Timor. Even during all of those occurences the Jakarta Government did not want to intervene in order not to offend the Portuguese government, even though the forces opposing FRETILIN demanded with urgency and desperation Indonesia's support.

On August 22 and 23, 1975, Mario Rulvo, the Foreign Minister of Portugal, sent a SOS to the United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, stating that the situation in East Timor was rapidly deteriorating and that it was impossible for the Portuguese authorities to maintain control and requested assistance from the international community.

When Portugal abandoned Timor it left behind a chaotic situation. But Indonesia still did not intervene. Only on December 7, three months later, after realizing that Portugal had lost authority in Timor, did Indonesia decided to help the people oppose FRETILIN and for its troops to march on Dili. The night and day march was not peaceful and at times somewhat disorganized as violent combat broke out between Indonesian troops and FRETILIN.

Later on when the territory was more peaceful a political process took place that culminated with the integration of Timor with Indonesia. Twelve years later, FRETILIN, comprised of about 500 men, is still fighting in the mountains more than four hundred kilometers from Dili. Twenty-seven thousand soldiers and officers of the Indonesian armed forces protect the East Timor population in that area. FRETILIN is a nationalist movement founded by intellectuals from Dili, who dreamed of an unrealistic independence for Timor. *"They are our brothers and we don't want to kill them. We hope that one day they'll come down from the mountains and participate in the development of Indonesian Timor* " stated a high ranking official, when explaining the reasons why a military force of a country with more than one hundred million inhabitants does not crush the five hundred resisters from FRETILIN.

My trip to Indonesia was a great exception from a Government to a Portuguese journalist and will have diplomatic repercussions. When the Foreign Minster invited me to Jakarta, he sought to demonstrate that he remains confident of the secular friendship between the Portuguese and the Indonesian people. He hoped that diplomatic relations between Jakarta and Lisbon would be resumed, continuing a

common international life which dates back to 1511 when the first Portuguese sailors arrived in the romantic Indonesian islands.

In the United Nations the Ambassadors of Indonesia and Portugal continue to maintain contacts, and the new Government of Cavaco Silva should put an end to this question that has shamed Portugal since April 25, 1974. I found that the streets in Timor had retained Portuguese names and our monuments were in tact and in their places. Likewise the Portuguese language has not been banned and I was speaking Portuguese during stay in Timor.

Last Sunday at 9 o'clock in a church that was a reproduction of a church in Minho, I shed a few tears when the priest Mario said the mass in Luis de Camoes' language.

The church was full and even overflowing and several youngsters crowded at the front door as they longed for Portuguese things, which is inexplicable since Portugal has disregarded the people of Timor for the past twelve years.

In consideration of Portugal, the Government of Indonesia ~~tranemitted~~ broadcasted directly to the whole country, the soccer game between Porto and Munich. Nobody slept in Timor and the Portuguese victory made the whole population shed tears of joy.

The old Timorians who fought side by side with our troops, still proudly keep their old uniforms as relics. Still today there are twenty Portuguese living in Timor, located in the immense and tranquil Indian Ocean.

During my visit I had the opportunity to interview Dili's Apostolic Administrator who functions as a bishop and is a graduate of our Seminary in Estorial. He administers the Catholic religion without any restrictions from the Indonesian authorities, basically in the same manner done by the Portuguese missionaries more than four hundred years ago, who arrived with the sailors from Lisbon to this land at the end of the world.

TO TELL THE TRUTH

The best way for Portugal to show its friendship towards the Timorians who love their old culture is to resume diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Jakarta, so the two people can resume a dialogue that was interrupted by men without sense, without dignity and unfortunately without moral scruples.

But this narrative will continue in the next issues of TEMPO. Our Watergate will be laid bare without any doubts, because history can not be deceived. There is always somebody who is vigilant like the press, that will not join in a pact with the morally corrupt who do not want their mischief or ignorance and specially their irresponsibilities uncovered.

My research in Jakarta and Timor, with the full cooperation of the local authorities, allowed me to grasp and understand the facts of the whole Timor dossier without restrictions.

I will open this dossier to the Portuguese people, and I hope that after this goodwill gesture of the Indonesian Government to a Portuguese journalist, Cavaco Silva will put a stop to this useless dispute that only ashames and damages the people of Timor and Portugal and only contributes to the disappearance of our culture of 400 years among the Timorians with the bourgeoise moving to the cost of Australia. The editorial section of TEMPO has free access and any witness who wants to debate the Timor case or my interpretation of the historical facts can do so now.

During my Monday interview with Minister Mochtar, one of the most respected and influential politicians in Asia, I learned that Indonesia wants to put an end to the recent past in Timor. *"Timor will continue to be part of Indonesia in the future, but Indonesia does not want to erase the Portuguese presence in this province. But in order for this to be possible it is necessary to stop the dispute in the United Nations, which is absurd because the matter, in fact, is not questioned by the international*

community and because the Timorian people, more than six hundred thousand souls need peace to work and to conquer the secular backwardness in which they are submerged. Beginning with the premise, Lisbon and Jakarta can exchange Ambassadors" stated Minisiter Mochtar who wants to see Portugal and Indonesia share the same vision of continuing living together as they have for four centuries.

HOW TO WRITE HISTORIC A REPORT

Contrary to what may be supposed, my visit to Timor occurred under entirely accidental circumstances and has nothing to do with the debate on the Timorese question in the Committee of 24, at the headquarters of the UN in New York. On the 25th of July, I found myself in Bangkok at a conference on Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees. I read in the Bangkok Post news of the passage through the capital of Thailand, coming from Hanoi, of the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Mochtar. He was in the Vietnamese capital, to participate in discussions on the future of Cambodia in his capacity as head of an international mission from ASEAN. Mr. Mochtar was passing through Bangkok to inform the Thai Government, whose Foreign Minister at this moment is Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee on the problem of the refugees of Cambodia and Vietnam whose number is more than 250,000. I decided to try to meet Mr. Mochtar and ask him for an interview for TEMPO in which he might present the Indonesia version regarding the matter of East Timor. I telephoned the Indonesian Embassy, explaining my intentions. The press section official who spoke to me, Mr. Udomsak, told me that he did not yet know Mr. Mochtar's itinerary in Bangkok and therefore did not know if he could receive me. He promised to refer the request to the Embassy's counsellor for political affairs. On the 3rd of August I again telephoned the Embassy. Mr. Udomsak insisted that Mr. Mochtar's plans were not known, but that his stay in Bangkok would be for only one day. He advised me to go to the airport to meet the Minister, and there ask him my questions regarding Timor. I argued that the matter was too serious to be treated in a meeting of journalists at the airport and that I was only interested in a formal interview. And I proposed delivering to the Embassy a series of questions for the Minister to which he could reply later, while permitting me to meet with him, if even for only five minutes, to get a photograph with which to illustrate the interview. Mr. Udomsak consulted the political counsellor and he

agreed to have me leave the questions. I went to the Embassy and there, wrote ten questions which constituted the basis of my interest in obtaining an interview regarding the matter of Timor. On that same day, I left for Pathaya, 100 kilometers from Bangkok, convinced that, given the few hours which he would be in the Thai capital, the Minister would not receive me. However, at the Hotel Meridien, where I was staying, I left the telephone number of the Royal Cliff Hotel, in Pathaya, where I would be staying. On the night of the 4th of August, I was incessantly telephoned at my hotel in Pathaya, a tourist complex which is one of the most famous in Asia. Mr. Udomsak told me that, after reading my questions, Mr. Mochtar wanted to meet me, and was disposed to receive me on the following day at 9 : 30 at the Hilton Hotel in Bangkok. I assured Mr. Udomsak that I would leave immediately by automobile for Bangkok so as to be at the interview on the following day. Abandoning my idea of staying another two days in Pathaya, I left my hotel and rented a car to return to Bangkok. The trip was at night and there was an accident when the driver hit a couple riding a motorcycle, who had to be taken to the hospital in Pathaya. When the police came in the morning, I learned that the driver would have to make lengthy declarations and attend a re-creation of the accident. I explained that my presence in Bangkok on the following morning was imperative and the police agreed to relieve me of being a witness to the accident, which made it possible for me to get another car, which arrived two hours later and took me to the Thai capital where I arrived around seven in the morning. At 9:30 I presented myself at the Hilton Hotel where the Minister, Mr. Mochtar, was awaiting me in his suite accompanied by the whole group of high officials who had been with him in Vietnam, and also the Ambassador of Indonesia in Bangkok and his closest aides, among whom was the diligent and providential Mr. Udomsak. The Minister received me cordially and our interview ran for about 20 minutes. I explained my aim: To hear the Indonesian government's version regarding the matter of Timor. Thirty minutes after our meeting began, the Minister proposed a change in my plans, so

that I could go with him, in his special airplane, to Jakarta and then on to Timor. "It is better to see with your own eyes what is happening in Timor, Mr. Mochtar told me. And added : "My plane leaves at midday, if you wish, you may accompany us."

I agreed. I was taken to the Indonesian Embassy where I was given a visa. From there I went to the hotel where I quickly packed my bags. And, at noon, I was at the international airport in Bangkok, in the VIP lounge. The Minister arrived a little later and was visibly satisfied with my presence. A little later, I took my place in a twin-engine jet of the Republic of Indonesia, together with the Minister, the high officials of the Ministry, and some security men. The flight to Jakarta took four hours during which we spoke about Timor and Vietnam. I noted the diligence of the Ministry's Secretaries, typing-up reports and communiques in the airplane. A small lunch was served. At about 4 pm on the 6th of August I arrived at the Jakarta military airport. Mr. Sunarso, a high official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, took me to the Intercontinental Hotel , where I was to reside. The following night, at four in the morning, I left Jakarta for Timor on a scheduled flight of Garuda Indonesia, with stops in Bali and Kupang in East Indonesia. To Bali, I travelled with international passengers who were going to spend their holiday in the famous Asian island. From Bali to Kupang, I travelled with Timorese, some of whom were from Jakarta and were going to visit family for the weekend. I had a conversation with them. I must add that I made the trip with a regular airplane ticket, since the planes of Garuda make daily connections between Jakarta and Dili. The plane flew over the emerald and sapphire waters of the Indian Ocean, which baths Timor. Around 1 a.m. of the 8th of August, I was welcomed at the airport by Inacio de Moura, a Portuguese from Marco de Canaveses, who is head of the Finance Services of Timor-Timur, the new name of former Portuguese Timor. In a government jeep, I went to the Hotel de Turismo, built by the Portuguese in the style of some of our modern inns. In the afternoon the Governor, Mario Carrascalao, received me in his office. My visit to Timor began and

was not, therefore, planned. They were already saying, in Lisbon that the Governor had ordered the tearing down of houses around the Hotel de Turismo, so that people would not see the degradation of Dili. I never, in my life as a journalist, encountered such a massive wave of disinformation. I discovered this during my unanticipated and historic visit to Timor. In Dili I visited what I wanted and went where I pleased. I talked at length with Inacio de Moura, the author of a book of poetry which he gave me - Vamos Cantar uma Ilha - and with Arsenio Ramos Horta, brother of Jose Ramos Horta (secretary of Fretilin) who is proprietor of the Hotel de Turism. Inacio de Moura and Arsenio Horta lived through the whole tragedy of Timor. Other Portuguese, knowing of my presence, appeared at the hotel. I visited the Bishop of Dili. The Minister, Mr. Mochtar, upon receiving me in Jakarta on my return from Timor, told me: "you saw what you wanted in the course of a trip which was not planned. I am confident in your seriousness, to tell the government of your country, and the friendly Portuguese people, what is really happening in Timor". Here is the story of my historic trip to East Timor, the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia and former Portuguese Timor. I hope that this trip will contribute towards a strengthening of the friendship between the peoples of Portugal and of Indonesia, and toward the establishment, finally, of peace in the old and martyred Portuguese Timor.

Nuno Rocha.

REPORT ON TIMOR

The Price of a Mistake : 100,000 Dead

Nuno Rocha was in Timor-East, the 27th province of Indonesia, formerly Portuguese Timor, on the 9th and 10th of this month. He interviewed the Governor, Engineer Mario Carrascalao and the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, Monsignor Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, and also spoke with Portuguese residents who have lived there since before 25 April 1974, such as Inacio de Moura and Arsenio Ramos Horta, and arrived at the following conclusion: At midnight of August 26, 1975, the Portuguese soldiers fled Dili, shoving one another into boats, led by Lt. Col. Lemos Pires who turned Lusitanian arms in the armories over to a local militia Second Lieutenant, Rogerio Lobato, brother of the President of Fretilin, Nicolau Lobato. The Portuguese officer thus antagonized the other Timorese parties and a can rage among Timorese began. Portugal fled Timor on August 26 and only on December 7, in the face of hunger which reigned in the territory and the presence of more than 45,000 relief-seeking refugees on the Indonesian Timor border, did the Indonesian army enter Timor , which provoked new and inevitable slaughters and desperate battles.

In total, more than 100,000 persons have, up to now, died in Timor. Today, Portugal must apologize to Indonesia for the manner in which it ended its 450 year presence in Timor, and also to the people of Timor for having abandoned them for the past 12 years. Those who lie regarding Timor's real situation, must be unmasked. It is not true that the adminstration is in the hands of Indonesia alone: Portuguese and Timorese hold important posts in Timor. It is not true that the Catholic Church is prevented from worship: on Sunday, Portuguese Salesian fathers hold Catholic mass in the Portuguese Church of Dili, and speak in the language of Luis de Camoes. On the other hand, Portugal cannot defend the impossible: Timor cannot be independent, because it does not have the resources, and the people of Timor can be happier one day

only if they live under the protection of Indonesia, which is their natural homeland. The government of Portugal must sit at the negotiating table with the government of Indonesia, must re-establish diplomatic relations with Jakarta, and request the installation of a consulate in Dili. It can make an effort to take in the last Fretilin resisters who are in the mountains, and who never fought against Portugal. They harbor an impossible dream under which they are condemned to die - not only they, but also the innocent people of Timor who finally deserve, peace.

INTERVIEW WITH MINISTER MOCHTAR

" The integration of Timor with Indonesia is irreversible but we want to respect the 450 years of Portuguese presence"

"I sincerely hope that the new Portuguese government of Mr. Cavaco Silva wants to resolve, jointly with Indonesia, the problem of Timor," the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Mochtar, told me when he received me in his work-room in Jakarta after my visit in Timor.

He added:

-- "This position of Indonesia does not mean that my country is inclined to return to the former situation; that is, the integration of Timor into Indonesia is irreversible. Nor could Portugal insist that such (integration) did not occur, because the decolonization undertaken by Portugal cannot be reversed. We have decided to maintain Timor as one of the provinces of the Indonesian State, although we recognize that Portugal has a historic role to play in Timor. We are ready to respect this role."

Mr. Mochtar then told me:

-- "In 1983 there were useful contacts between the two governments, which occurred under the auspicies of the United Nations in New York. The three parties involved were: Indonesia, Portugal and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We discussed in harmony the repatriation of public servants and they arrived in Lisbon in 1985. There are good prospects for establishing an understanding between our two countries."

-- *And regarding the situation in Timor ?*

-- " I think you saw what happens there. I hope you will tell your Prime Minister. The efforts of Mr. Ahmed Rafeeuddin of the UN, resulted in a very clear memorandum on the actual situation in Timor. I know that he was surprised. In Timor, peace is possible again, there is progress and development. We are very satisfied

with the work of Governor Mario Carrascalao who is, after all, half Portuguese and studied in Lisbon. We did not drop him for this".

-- *How would you describe what happened in 1975?*

-- "When I was Minisiter of Justice and acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, I met with Mr. Almeida Santos. The civil war in Timor was at its peak and I proposed to Lemus Pires the formation of a joint force with troops from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Australia. This force would have the task of controlling the situation and permitting a peaceful referendum. Unfortunately, my proposal was rejected not only by Australia, but also by Portugal. From that point on, there was nothing more I could do. I must admit that the position of your Governor Lemos Pires was never clear to us."

-- *And regarding the future?*

-- "We are ready to respect your Constitution, as we hope Portugal respects ours. The question of Timor is ended. That territory is an integral part of Indonesia, as one of its provinces. If Portugal has to change its Constitution, we hope it will do so. We can change with regard to the existing situation. We are ready to agree that our Ambassadors in the UN continue meeting."

-- *Do you foresee the re-opening of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia?*

-- We desire such relations, but we cannot have them as long as the UN efforts are not concluded. We will not go backwards, but we want a future of peace for Timor, based on friendship between Portugal and Indonesia".

The position of Mr. Mochtar and the Indonesian government was clarified regarding the problem of Timor. The Minister asked me to acknowledge that in recent years much has been done for the progress of Timor. He also asked me to acknowledge that there has been no persecution of the Portuguese and that they are esteemed in Timor. He did not react against my proposal under which Portugal can offer to receive

the Fretilin guerrillas who are in the mountains. It seemed to me that he accepted the idea as a good one, which means that the Indonesian Government will be ready to negotiate the end of the Guerrilla war with the Fretilin. But the proposal has to be formulated by the Portuguese Government in negotiations to be undertaken in New York between the Ambassadors of the two countries. I took advantage of the occasion to talk to the Minister about the question of Vietnam, since he was the head of the ASEAN mission to negotiate the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops form Cambodia.

Mr. Mochtar told me :

-- "Vietnam sustains the position that its troops will leave Cambodia, but not until 1999. This position is also supported by the Soviet Union, since Moscow has paid 8 billion dollars to help Vietnam. In the meantime, we are all trying to advance this 1999 date, since the question of the refugees is constantly putting more pressure on countries such as Thailand. According to Vietnam, there was no invasion of Cambodia, but simply aid to a friendly country in difficulty. According to Vietnam, the end of assistance must be requested by Cambodia itself. What we wanted was to bring together in one conference, in a "cocktail", all involved: the Governments of Indonesia, Cambodia, the opposition parties in Cambodia and Vietnam. There are conditions for the holding of this "cocktail" which should occur in Bogor, 60 kilometers from Jakarta. But there are no fixed dates. I think this is progress. We hope that Vietnam will agree to leave Cambodia before 1999 and, in return, we will secure ample financial support from the Paris Club. This would contribute to reinforcing of peace in that part of the world."

Our conversation went on for more than an hour. The Indonesian Minister wanted to know about the political situation in Portugal and was especially interested in Cavaco Silva. On him depends much of the future of the people of Timor.

A TEMPO JOURNALIST IN TIMOR

We are the principal guilty party for the tragedy of Timor

which sacrificed 100,000 lives

Nuno Rocha

Jakarta -- Dr. Mochtar Kusuma-atmadja was born in February 1929 in Jakarta. He studied in the country and then went to Harvard from 1964 to 1965 and the University of Chicago the following year from 1965 to 1966. He wrote various books such as "*Territorial Extension and the Sea*," "*Geneva Convention on the Protection of War Victims*, " and an "*Introduction to International Law*". He was a professor at Padjadjaran University in Jakarta in 1957 and was named Minister of Justice in 1974, a post in which he remained until 1978, when he was designated Minister of Foreign Affairs succeeding Adam Malik, the long shadow of eastern diplomacy. Today he is a correspondent of numerous universities and is a member of the Harvard Alumni Association. He has conducted Indonesia's foreign policy for more than ten years, and thus was there during the entire evolution of the of Timor. My interest in interviewing him was to learn the Indonesian version of the tragedy and drama of Timor. It did not seem to me correct that in Portugal only the Fretilin versions regarding Timor should be written by its representatives or friends, and by persons who never visited Timor or did not know about the reasons presented by Indonesia. If anything characterizes TEMPO, it is its desire to always contribute to the search for the most authentic possible truth. As Pirandelo said, each one has his truth. In journalism one learns early on that one can only try to obtain the authentic truth by testing many truths. Minister Mochtar today has great influence in Asia because he is directing negotiations with Vietnam with a view to achieving the withdrawal of that country's troops from Cambodia, whose occupation has lasted more than nine years and has already created

more than 250,000 refugees who live in tragic conditions in camps which I visited in Thailand and in other countries and territories, such as Malaysia and Hongkong. My first encounter with Dr. Mochtar occurred in Bangkok where we talked for about half an hour. I accompanied him in the airplane which took us from Bangkok to Jakarta. During that trip I talked mostly with his counsellors. I met Dr. Mochtar again on August 10, after having visited Timor, where I travelled without any guide or official of the Ministry. The interview took place in the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jakarta, a couple of steps from the Intercontinental Hotel where I stayed. Dr. Sunarso and Dr. Nana S. Sutresna, Director-General of Political Affairs, and a stenographer of the Press Services of the Ministry, also attended the interview. That meeting with Dr. Mochtar lasted more than an hour and 30 minutes and was a cordial one in which ample good faith was displayed on both sides. We both recognized that the recent past must not be invoked, neither by Indonesia nor by Portugal, with a view to resolving the problem of Timor. We both felt that it is necessary to normalize the situation, resume diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Portugal, maintain in Timor the remain of Portuguese culture and the Catholic religion in Timor which is practiced by more than 80 per cent of the population there, and undertake a new phase of the friendship between the peoples of Indonesia and Portugal which has existed for 450 years of mutual co-existence. On my part, I acknowledged without hesitation that the natural homeland of the Timorese today is Indonesia, just as that of the people of Macao is China. Dr. Mochtar did not oppose a suggestion I made to him that Portugal or some other country might take in, in freedom, the Fretilin fighters who are still in the mountains, as long as they laid down their arms, thereby permitting the establishment of a durable peace in Timor and the promotion of progress and the well-being of the Timorese people, taking them out of the sub-underdevelopment in which they find themselves and for which the Portuguese are responsible. I could not fail to acknowledge that in the past ten years, Indonesia has brought more progress to

Timor than the Portuguese had during the previous 450 years. On the other hand, I got the Minister to acknowledge the peaceful and fraternal sense of our colonization and the building of an occidental culture, European and Lusitanian, which is indispensable as the base for material progress which must be accorded to Timor. We both were hopeful that as far as possible, with the new majority government of Cavaco Silva, the case of Timor will be brougt to an end on basis of reestablishing friendship which united the people of Indonesia and Portugal during more than four centuries.

The story of the interview is as follows, according to the notes I took at the time, since the Ministry understood that it was not necessary to make a tape recording of our conversation

THE REPORT

Timor-- Besides all that I have already written in TEMPO on the 5th and 13th of this month, there are still many things to point out in this battle to put an end to the most formidable disinformation which I have seen in my life, regarding the matter of Timor. I have no other objective but to contribute to peace in Timor, for the establishment of good relations between the governments of Lisbon and Jakarta, and between the Portuguese people and the Indonesian people, and also to save the Fretilin resisters who never antagonized Portugal and also the Timorese people from a tragic end. It is necessary to put an end to the guerrilla war in Timor and it is necessary to build a future based on respect for the traditions and the culture of the Portuguese who were in the distant " Indian Ocean" territory for more than 450 years. Before all else, I must explain that in few countries have I found such friendship for Portugal and the Portuguese, as in Indonesia. In all the history books or in simple tourist pamphlets, Indonesia always writes, apparently with pride: Portugal was the first occidental power to enter Indonesia --- in 1509, after attacking Malaca and occupying the south of Malaysia. The rulers of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas joined forces to oust the Portuguese --- says Indonesian history --- and sometimes were successful. In the last quarter of the XVI century, the Portuguese were successful in dominating the islands and subjugated the Sultan Abdullah of Ternate who governed "Timor. The Sultan decided to renounce his submission to Portugal and became friendly with the new invaders, the Dutch. Abdullah quickly concluded that he had simply swapped powers: after the Portuguese, those who wanted to subjugate him were the Dutch of Vereenigde Oost-Indjsche Companie who, in the meantime, had arrived on the island. The Dutch expanded rapidly and drove the Portuguese out of many islands which they had occupied. In 1651 the Dutch captured Kupang, in the west of Timor, which is today the capital of

the province of Nusa Tenggara. On the other part of the island the Portuguese resisted through their Catholic faith, since they were principally opposed to the Dutch Protestant Church. The Portuguese and Dutch both occupied the island, and in 1859, the Portuguese abandoned the Flores and Soplor Islands, while insisting on retaining for themselves the western part of Timor. Eight years later, a treaty in this regard was signed between the Portuguese and the Dutch. The treaty, with border modifications, was ratified in 1904 and 1914.

Theatre of Great Tragedies

The island of Timor was always a theatre for great tragedies. In 1910, when the Republic was proclaimed, in Lisbon, the people of Timor revolted against the colonial power and the rebellion was only put down by our forces 18 months later. The rebellion was led by the Liurai, one of the traditional Timor tribes which maintains its influence to this day. With the advent of the Second World War, the Japanese drove the Dutch and Portuguese out of Timor, as well as the rest of Indonesia. After three and a half years in power, marked by hunger and death which came to more than 40,000 persons, the Japanese surrendered to the Allies. At the same time, the people of Indonesia proclaimed their independence, initiating a war against the Dutch which lasted four long years. The people of Timor once again revolted against Portugal, trying to join with the Indonesians in their flight for the liberation of the homeland. Once again, the Portuguese resisted and subjugated the Indonesians for a duration of 30 years. On the 25th of April 1974, Portugal proclaimed in Lisbon an end of its colonial possessions in the world. It made this declaration, solemnly before the world at the headquarters of the UN. But the martyrdom of the Timorese people did not end.

Indonesia and the 25th of April.

When the May 26, 1926, regime of Portugal was overthrown, Indonesia waited to see what would happen in Timor. On May 28, 1974, Colonel Alves Aldeia, then the Portuguese Governor of Timor, announced that Lisbon was authorizing the formation of political parties in Timor and that they should decide the future of the territory. It was clear that Portugal did not want to retain any of the colonies, not even its Chinese enclave in Macao. On June 6, 1974, a Portuguese military delegation was in Timor and formally reiterated Lisbon's decision to give the Timorese people the right to choose their destiny in accordance with the options already outlined, which were: Simply remain as an independent territory but federated with Portugal; simply be an independent territory; or integrate with Indonesia.

On the 21st of September of the same year, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Malik, and of Portugal, Mr. Mario Soares, met in New York and discussed the process of decolonization of Timor, as well as the state of Portugal-Indonesia relations. At that point, Indonesia and Portugal decided to maintain the closset cooperation regarding the decolonization of Timor. It was considered useful to resume diplomatic relations between the two countries, interrupted by the Government of Salazar when Indonesia voted against Portugal in the Decolonization Commission of 24 in the United Nations. It was resolved between Mr. Malik and Mr. Soares to maintain permanent contacts between the two countries through their embassies in the United Nations. On October 4, Lt. General Moertopo, special envoy of President Suharto, visited Lisbon bringing a message from President Suharto for the Portuguese President, Costa Gomes, who in the meantime had succeeded Spinola. During his two day visit, General Moertopo held conversations regarding Timor with the Prime Minister, Vasco Goncalves, with the Foreign Minister, Soares, and with the Minister of Inter-territorial Co-ordination, Mr. Almeida Santos. After the conversations, it was resolved by the two

countries to open embassies in Lisbon and Jakarta. As a consequence of these decisions, the Portuguese Minister, Mr. Almeida Santos, who played a pivotal role in the sad and tragic Portuguese decolonization, decided to visit Indonesia, which occurred from the 16th to the 19th of October, also in 1974. After his arrival at Perdanakusumah airport, Mr. Almeida Santos made pompous declarations to the press affirming: 1) It is unrealistic to defend the independence of Timor, because this could encourage the arrival on the island of new colonialinterests; 2) the process of decolonization must proceed on a basis of respect for the decision of the people of Timor. In a meeting with Almeida Santos on the 18th President Suharto declared: 1) Indonesia has no territorial ambitions regarding Timor, and is profoundly anti-colonialist in accordance with the country's 1945 Constitution; 2) Indonesia is ready to agree to the integration of Portuguese Timor, if this was in line with the interests of the Timorese people.

Thus, were the fundamental lines of the positions of Portugal and Indonesia were drawn.

Indonesian Patience

In the meantime, the Portuguese military in Timor were throwing the people into a unimaginable political confusion. Five parties were formed, one of them radically left, the Fretilin, three moderate parties, and one favoring integration with Indonesia. Students arrived from Lisbon to hold rallies, and two Majors of the MFA began making political propaganda, showing themselves to be close to the radical and third world positions of the Fretilin. These men, Majors Mota and Jonatas, were later driven out by the people of Timor. On the 14th of November, Colonel Alves Aldeia was removed, and Governor Lemos Pires, who enjoyed the confidence of the MFA. Arrived five parties had been formed and were in action: Fretilin, UDT, Kota, Apodeti and the Labor Party, which naturally fought among themselves, sometimes violently. In March 1975, Governor Lemos Pires goes to Jakarta, and denies that militants of Apodeti had died. In the meantime, in Dili and Timor in general, there had already been innumerable political

persecutions and massacres, which the Governor ignored. In Jakarta, the Governor declared: 1) The best solution for the problem of Timor is that which receives the support of the people and also has the agreement of the territories with common frontiers; 2) insofar as the integration with Indonesia is concerned, if the majority of the people want it, he will not interpose problems from the Portuguese side. On the following day, the 18th of March, Lemos Pires repeated that the people of Timor should decide on their future on the basis of self-determination. On the 30th, in Kupang, en route back from Jakarta, Lemos Pires said that the decolonization of Timor depended on agreements to be established between the parties established in the territory. In May, the President of the UDT, at that time favoring a federation of Timor with Portugal, declared in Jakarta that if the Timorese people wanted integration with Indonesia, the UDT would support such a solution Indonesia, naturally, was already worried about the possibility of the Fretilin, tied in with the Frelimo of Mozambique and other third world Marxist parties, taking power in Dili and installing in Timor a Marxist regime. The same concerns were manifesting themselves in Australia, a neighboring country with Darwin only 30 minutes by plane from Dili. In the face of growing tensions in Timor, the Portuguese Government invited the Indonesian Government to a meeting in London, which was set for the 9th of March. The Portuguese delegation was headed by the new Minister for Decolonization, Vitor Alves, and the Indonesian, by General Ali Murtopo. The following was concluded: 1) In order for calm to be maintained in Timor, a meeting was suggested between the Portuguese Government and the Existing parties in Timor, so that they could together discuss the decolonization process for Timor; 2) Acknowledging its interest in the matter, Indonesia undertook to exercise its influence on Apodeti so that this party, favorable to the integration of Timor with Indonesia, would not create difficulties for process of self-determination; 3) Indonesia would instruct its representatives in Hongkong to support the anticipated meeting of the Timorian parties in Macao.

In the middle of May, Fretilin, then already supported by Portuguese military elements with a view to taking power (which suited the pro marxist regime in Lisbon) broke its agreement with UDT. The UDT asked for the Fretilin to be expelled from the party as old informers of PIDE, who had jouined the party. Finally, the Macao meeting was set for the 26th to the 29th of June. Passing through Jakarta to the conference in Macao, Casimiro Ascencao Araujo, of the Apodeti, accepted a referendum, convinced that the people wanted integration with Indonesia, as a solution for their future. In the meantime, the Fretilin refuses to participate in the Macao conference, alleging various pretexts. Without the presence of Fretilin, the outcome of the Macao conference was sure to be inconclusive. Meanwhile, the obivious bad faith of Fretilin regarding acceptance of a referendum and a free choice by the people, was confirmed. The parties present at the conference accused the Fretilin of being an antidemocratic party and asked Portugal, as the administaring power of the territory, to take the necessary steps against the Fretilin. Soon after the failure of the Macao conference, Portugal published in Lisbon Law 7/75, which defines the decolonization process in Timor. The law proposed the creation of a transitional government until October of 1976, presided over by a High Commissioner, and which would have the participation of Timorese parties. Also prossed was the formation of a Counsel of the Transition Government, made up of two representatives of municipal councils and four members of each party. This Popular Assembly had the job of determining the future of the territory and the manner of its reaching decolonization. In reaction to the new Law, Fretilin continued its actions of obstruction to any legal process.

The Civil War

On the 15th of August 1975, it turns out that the Portuguese Governor was not able to assure peace and order in Timor. Majors Mota and Jonata participated in rallies in favor of Fretilin. On the 15th of August it is evident that Fretilin prepares a coup d'etat and the UDT goes to Governor Lemos Pires to protest. He denies that these

are Fretilin's intentions. But it is known that the Colonel is already dominated by his military staff which holds YPA ideas, and by his friends in Lisbon. On the 7th, Lemos Pires receives the UDT and gives no satisfaction to their protests asking equality of treatment for all parties. The Fretilin demands, in Lisbon, Portugal's commitment to support the full independence of the territory, at the same time it refuses to name representatives to the Transition Council. The Fretilin decides, of course, to impede the holding of elections for the Transition Government, planed for October 1976. In the meantime, Majors Mota and Jonatas are expelled from the territory as demanded by the UDT which held demonstrations against them. Mota and Jonatas leave by airplane after the 10th of August. On the 15th of August the situation is explosive. Portugal does not dominate developments and Lemos Pires looses control. On the 8th of August there are huge demonstrations in Dili and in Los Palos. On the 10th of August the UDT holds further demonstration. At 10.00 pm, the UDT launches a military operation to take power and occupies the administrative buildings. It is at this stage that the commandant of police, Major Magiolo de Gouveia is invited to the headquarters of the UDT. The UDT controls the police and the port. Terror reigns in Dili with the Fretilin preparing a counter offensive in light of the helplessness and panic of the Portuguese soldiers who are without command. Magiolo de Gouveia proclaims his adhearance to the UDT and declares himself a socialist . On the 11th of August the UDT announces by radio that it is in control of Timor. The Portuguese presence in Timor approaches its end. Magiolo de Gouveia proposes to talk with the Fretilin to prevent civil war. He leaves the headquarters of the UDT for a meeting with Rogerio Lobato, commandant of the Fretilin. When he (Lobato) sees him (Gouveia) the latter takes him prisoner. The Fretilin kills him between the 9th and 15th of December, in Ailieu, together with more than one thousand prisoners. While Magiolo de Gouveia is prisoner, he is barbarously beaten. He writes on the walls of the prisoners, with his own blood : "I die for the love of Timor and Portugal.". For this, he is considered a hero of Portugal and Timor and

will have a monument erected in his honor in Aliieu by the Indonesians. He dies beside an already-dug masss grave. He implores God, and says he dies in the name of God, the Homeland, and Timor. The soldiers who shoots him hesitates in the face of the courage of the young Portuguese officer. No shots are heard. But an Arab named Alcatiri fires on Magiolo. The other militiamen follow him. Magiolo and more than 1,000 prisoners fall into the common grave and remain there forever.

At this point, Indonesian soldiers are already in Timor, obliged to invade due to lack of authority in the territory after the Portuguese fled.

Herculean Efforts

The analysis of the developments proves the great, truly uncommon, seriousness of the Government and the Indonesian people. After the UDT takes power, the Fretilin, militarily stronger, does not consider itself defeated. On the 20th of August the Fretilin comes down from the hills around Dili and surrounds the city. The Portuguese begin their retreat and head for the quays. They do not want to fight, nor can they reestablish order. From Lisbon, the Government desperately asks for the intervention of the United Nations. The Fretilin manages to penetrate into Dili and the UDT is forced to abandon the capital. Its men flee to the border of Indonesian Timor. At this point, the Apodeti, Kota and the Labor parties combine their forces with the UDT and fight against the Fretilin which remains alone in the territory. At the border, thousands of Timorese ask for clothes, food and security. Jakarta goes into a panic. The Portuguese Government allows chaos to grip in the territory. On the night of the 26th of August, the Portuguese soldiers precipitately flee Dili. The soldiers push one another to get to the boats and run all over themselves. It is a general, disorderly flight. They flee to the nearby island of Atauro, with the General Commandant at their head. He, before leaving, commits a crime: He turns over the weapons to a local militia officer, Rogerio Liberato, brother of the director of the Fretilin, Nicolau Roberto.

Fretilin keeps the arms. The Portuguese take refuge on Atauro, 20 miles from Dili. There being a long period in which Indonesia demonstrates great patience. Almeida Santos leaves Lisbon to visit Indonesia, Australia and Atauro. He leaves Lisbon on the 22nd of August, but only arrives in Jakarta only on the 28th, two days after the flight of the Portuguese, which was on the 26th. Therefore, Almeida Soares was on his trip, while the Portuguese were fleeing Dili. It is not known whether that was with, or withour, tacit agreement. Only he and Lemos Pires can, if they wish, clear that up. The conversations between Portugal and Indonesia, with the territory already abandoned by our troops occurred in Jakarta on the 29th of August, the first encounter, and on 11th of September, the second, in this case after the return of Almeida Soares from Atauro where he met with the defeated Portuguese army. He had also been in Australia where, it is known, he asked for the help of Australian troops, which he did not obtain. He has a meeting with Minister Mochtar, and proposes to him the organization of an army made up by various countries, to establish order in Timor since the Portuguese had fled. Minister Mochtar reaffirms the Indonesian principles: 1) Indonesia has no territorial ambitions in Timor; 2) Indonesia is in favor of the principle of decolonization, but respects the will of the people of Timor; 3) Indonesia continues to recognize Portugal as the administering power in Timor; 4) Indonesia and Portugal reaffirm their conviction regarding the principles of decolonization; 5) the civil war situation demands measures to restore peace and security. On the 30th of August, Almeida Santos, who is responsible for the disastrous and, at times criminal, Portuguese decolonization in Timor, Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Guinea Bissau, leaves Jakarta enroute to Australia. He planned to visit Atauro again and return, also, to Jakarta. Australia refuse to get involved in the Timor question, saying that this is entirely a matter for Portugal, which alone was responsible for the existing situation. It says it is in favor of the Timor question being solved by the people of Timor, Portugal and Indonesia. Almeida Santos, on his return to Jakarta, says that Portugal does not

especially support the Fretilin, but the facts deny this. In Timor, the Fretilin completely dominate the territory, using terror and violence. Merchants give them supplies and get nothing in return. There are women, wine and song among the men of the Fretilin. Costa Gomes, in Lisbon, hypocritically assures that Portugal does not support the Fretilin. Meanwhile, the moderate parties, the UDT, Kota and Labor, request the integration of Timor with Indonesia. On the 7th of September, in Batugade, Lopes da Cruz, Mario Carrascalao, Sousa Nascimento, Jose Martins and Fransisco Dias declare their intention to request the integration of Timor with Indonesia, since Portugal had abandoned the territory. The reaffirmation is repeated on the 13th of September. On the 15th of September, in Jakarta, the Secretary of State, Sudharmono, confirms having received a petition from the parties of Timor for integration. On the 6th of October, fighting breaks out on the Indonesian frontier. There are confirmed deaths, and villages are assaulted by men of the Fretilin, searching for food. Hunger dominated Timor and the troops of the Fretilin start having to eat rat and snakes. On the 9th of October, in the United Nations Melo Antunes declares that Portugal is ready to accept a political formula to resolve the problem of Timor. He seems to be the first voice to understand that the matter of Timor is political. Later, it is not understood why Melo Antunes accepts the breaking off of relation with Indonesia. On the 12th of October, the Indonesian Minister Malik takes note of the Melo Antunes declarations and both agree to meet in Rome on the 1st and 2nd of November. Indonesia, despite the war in Timor and on its frontier, continues to hope that Portugal will reestablish power in the territory. Fretilin continues to dominate but has no organization, nor money, nor even weapons. Everything depends on the Rome meeting. This is held between Melo Antunes and Malik under the auspicies of the Italian Government. The meeting ends with an extensive joint communique in which it is affirmed that the discussions were held in a frank and cordial manner. Surprisingly, Indonesia feels that Portugal continues to be the administering power in Timor and that the future of the territory must be

resolved through a referendum held under Portuguese auspices. It is proof of Indonesian's patiecen and friendship for Portugal. In the meantime, power was also lost in Lisbon. Melo Antunes is unable to implement the agreements made in Rome. In Timor, the Fretilin is contantly increasing the terror. Australia worries that the Fretilin, a movement with marxist tendencies, will appropriate Timor and give military bases to the Soviet Union. The Fretilin has reached a dead end. On the 8th of November, Malik meets with the directors of Apodeti, the UDT, the Kota and the Laborites. The meeting is held in Atambua. These parties insistently request the intervention of Indonesia to put an end to the Fretilin terror. There are already more than 50,000 dead in the territory since the flight of the Portuguese. The Apodeti asks for a meeting with Indonesia in Bali. Malik replies that, according to the Rome agreements, Indonesia cannot intervene in the political question of Timor. This role belongs to Portugal.

Fretilin Proclaim Unilateral Independence

On 28 November 1975, Fretilin unilaterally declares the independence of Timor, creating the Democratic Republic of East-Timor . Panic breaks out in Jakarta, in Melbourne, in all of the extreme south of Asia. In Timor the leaders of the UDT, the Apodeti and the Kota themselves stripped of their legitimate rights. The Fretilin gained its power by force of arms. On November, the UDT, Apodeti, Kota and Laborites proclaim, independence and simultaneous integration of the territory with Indonesia. In Lisbon, like a surrealistic film, Portugal declares that it continues to be the administering power in Timor. But Mario Ruivo, Foreign Minister, asks the help of the United Nations and declares Portugal incapable of governing Timor. On the 4th of December, the Indonesian Goverment declares that it considers the decolonization process developed by Portugal to be improper. More than 45,000 Timorese gathered at its borders. Without food supplies, the Fretilin condemned the Timorese people to a tragic hunger. Living skeletons arrived at Dili. On the 7th of December, the four

parties which opposed the Fretilin, convince Indonesian forces to intervene. They entered Timor to reestablish order. It is the de facto end of the Portuguese presence in Timor. There follows endless combat, violence and battles between the Fretilin and Indonesian forces. The latter, finally arrive at Dili. Then began another phase: The legal process for the integration of Timor into Indonesia.

A Telegram for the United Nations

Last Friday, the director of TEMPO sent to Dr. Matos Proenca, the Ambassador of Portugal at the United Nations, the following telegram :

"I was in Timor on the 8th and 9th of August, invited by the Indonesian Minister, Mr. Mochtar. I spoke with the resident Bishop and Governor. Situation normal. Our country commits an injustice against the people of Timor and Indonesia by maintaining an ambiguous situation. I wrote articles in TEMPO, on the 5th and 13th. I urgently request that you read them. I will fight for the truth which I know and propose the reopening of diplomatic relations with Indonesia and negotiations over Timor.

" Minister Mochtar transported me in his special aircraft. I arrived in Timor without restrictions of any kind. I will clarify the situation with Prof. Cavaco Silva and Minister Deus Pinbheiro. I am a witness in favor of Indonesia and its people. Our national interest and our dignity require an end to the Timorese question. I hope you understand and accept my position." .

Box (page 15)

* We must ask forgiveness from the Indonesian people and especially the people of Timor, for the manner in which abandoned the territory.

* We must reestablish diplomatic relations with the Government in Jakarta and request the installation of a consulate in Dili.

* We must help 500 resisters of the Fretilin to emerge from the Timorese mountain "ghetto" in which they find themselves.

* We must not, under any circumstances, stimulate any spirit of independence among the people of Timor because such independence is impossible.

* Timor must remain as the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia as long as the Government of Jakarta continues to respect, as it has up to now, the Portuguese cultural roots which have existed there for 450 years.

* The practice of religion is free in Timor and there are Portuguese functionaries in the highest administrative posts.

* The streets of Timor continue to have Portuguese names and the name of our country is highly respected by the Indonesian Government.

* The Portuguese army fled Timor on the 20th of August of 1975 in disarray.

The outcome of a debate held in APRIL

The Associacao Politica Regional de Intervencao Local, with headquarters in Porto, in a letter to us manifested its surprise "to see adopted, without question, by a Portuguese journalist in a Portuguese newspaper, the points of view defended by the Government of Indonesia" regarding the situation in East-Timor.

In the same letter, that association reports the conclusions of a debate held at its headquarters in June of this year, which we print in their entirety for the benefit of our readers.

"1. Today there is a consensus and political will to find solutions which woll lead to an effective resolusion of the problem of self-determination of the people of East-Timor.

"2. The important fact is that there is a convergence that attitudes and action by organizations that Portuguese sovereignty is to be stressed.

"3. Also consensual is the obligation of Portugal, assuming totally its position as the adminstering power, to present to Indonesia a counter-proposal for peace, framed in a global strategy which takes into account:

a) The role of the OUN and the need for international public condemnation of the Indonesian action.

b) A reinforcement of national and international public opinion, through sensitive intervention, toward the development of a conscience favorable to the taking of positions by national and international public institutions, such as the powerful European Parliament.

c) The fundamental role to be played by the liberation movements of the Fretilin and UDT, reinforced by the recent nationalist convergence .

"4. As fundamental short-term necessities, with a view to a lasting and stable global solution to the problem of East-Timor, the following are required :

a) The establishment of a peace plan, which implies a period of transition for the total awlf-determination of the Timorese people;

b) The acknowledgement of, and support for, the role which the guerrillahs are to play in Timor in the preservation of the identity of a people;

c) The most vast sensitization of the responsible institutions of the international community, notably the EEC, which will participate in the holding of the announced International Conference of Parliamentarians in Lisbon.

"5. The fact that countries which support the Indonesian policy have recently changed their position is clear proof that this question is essentially political, and no positive steps can be taken unless the international community first understands the falseness and perversion of the policy of that country relative to the question of Timor.

"6. Finally, there should be underlined the cultural, historic and constitutional responsibilities of the Portuguese State to find, in the shortest possible time, a solution to this problem, so that the colonial cycle can, with dignity, be brought to an end.